

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY S/P:ALAKE
APPROVED BY S/P:ALAKE
S/S :SGOLDSMITH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 153323 TOSEC 070076

NODIS
-STADIS FOR TARNOFF FROM LAKE////////////////

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SOPN XA

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S DRAFT SPEECH FOR ATLANTIC CITY

HERE IS THE REVISED AFRICA SPEECH. IT INCLUDES SOME

(BUT NOT ALL) OF THE SUGGESTIONS OF TARNOFF, NEWSOM,

BENNET, HARROP, MCHENRY, AND MAYNES. ALL OF THEM, PLUS

CHRISTOPHER AND AARON BELIEVE THE SECTION ON STRATEGY

(AS REVISED) SHOULD BE INCLUDED. AID CLEARS. ANDY

READ THE FIRST VERSION AND ALSO LIKED IT. JODY HASN'T

REACTED YET. CUSTODIAL STAFF HAVE ASKED TO SCRUB AND

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POLISH THE NEXT VERSION.

COULD YOU SHOW IT TO DICK MOOSE AND MARSHALL SHULMAN?

BEGIN TEXT:

1. (INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS)
2. I WANT TO SPEAK WITH YOU TODAY ABOUT A SUBJECT THAT

HAS BEEN MUCH IN THE HEADLINES RECENTLY: AFRICA.

3. THE HEADLINES ARE ABOUT THE SO-CALLED "TROUBLE SPOTS"

THERE -- CONFLICTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ETHIOPIA AND

SOMALIA, ZAIRE, ANGOLA, CHAD, AND THE WESTERN SAHARA.

EVERY DAY, THE NAMES OF NATIONS LITTLE KNOWN PREVIOUSLY TO

MOST AMERICANS ARE BEING HEARD ON EVENING NEWS BROADCASTS.

4. SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT HAS ADDED TO

THE TURBULENCE OF TROUBLED WATERS. WE HAVE A DEEP NATIONAL

INTEREST IN HELPING RESOLVE THESE CONFLICTS, WHICH CREATE

OPPORTUNITIES FOR FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

5. FOR THE REALITY OF AFRICA GOES FAR BEYOND THE CON-

FLICTS, CRISES AND FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT THAT SEIZE OUR MOST

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IMMEDIATE ATTENTION. IT IS A HUGE CONTINENT OF GREAT

NATURAL AND HUMAN POTENTIAL. MOST OF ITS NATIONS NOW LIVE

IN PEACE, MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD A SECURE FUTURE. WE ARE

WORKING TO HELP SEE THAT ALL ITS NATIONS AND PEOPLES CAN

DO SO. THIS IS PROFOUNDLY IN OUR INTEREST. A PEACEFUL

AND PROSPEROUS AFRICA IS ALSO GOOD FOR AMERICA, AND THUS

FOR EVERY ONE OF OUR CITIZENS.

6. AFRICAN NATIONS PLAY A KEY ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS

AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL ARENAS. THEY CAN HELP MAKE

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN OUR EFFORTS

TO STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, TO CONTROL THE

ACCUMULATION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS, TO STOP STARVATION

AND TO HELP MANAGE THE WORLD'S RESOURCES FOR THE FUTURE.

7. AFRICA IS IMPORTANT TO US IN EVEN MORE DIRECT WAYS.

SOME OF YOU HERE BUY AND SELL GOODS THAT REQUIRE COPPER

OR MANGANESE. YOU HAVE COFFEE AND COCOA IN YOUR KITCHENS.

AFRICA SUPPLIES US WITH BETWEEN A QUARTER AND ALMOST ONE

HALF OF OUR IMPORTS OF THESE AND MANY OTHER RAW MATERIALS.
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YOU MAY BE SURPRISED TO LEARN THAT AFRICA SUPPLIES 40 PCT. OF

OUR PETROLEUM IMPORTS.

8. OVERALL, US IMPORTS FROM AFRICA INCREASED BY 24 PCT. IN

1977 ALONE.

9. SIMILARLY, OUR EXPORTS TO AFRICA ARE INCREASING

RAPIDLY. MANY OF YOU COME FROM FARM STATES. YOU HAVE A

DIRECT INTEREST IN THE FACT THAT AFRICA PROVIDED A MARKET

LAST YEAR FOR WELL OVER ONE BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF US

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

10. AS PEOPLE IN BUSINESS, YOU KNOW THE IMPORTANCE OF

EXAMINING REALITIES AND KEEPING IN MIND A LONG TERM,

EFFECTIVE STRATEGY.

11. I WANT TO DESCRIBE TO YOU TODAY OUR STRATEGY IN

AFRICA, AND HOW IT IS BASED ON U.S. INTERESTS AND AFRICAN

REALITIES.

15 PRESIDENT CARTER SAID IN HIS RECENT SPEECH AT

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ANNAPOLIS, OUR POLICY IS BASED ON AN AFFIRMATIVE APPROACH

THAT EMPHASIZES WORKING WITH THE NATIONS OF AFRICA TO HELP

RESOLVE AFRICAN PROBLEMS AND MEET AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS. IT

IS BASED ON A RECOGNITION OF THESE FACTS:

-- THAT THE CORE OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AFRICA IS

AFRICAN EFFORT;

-- THAT THE BEST WAY TO RESOLVE AFRICAN CONFLICTS IS BY

SUPPORTING AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS;

-- AND THAT THE SUREST LONG-TERM BARRIER TO SOVIET AND

CUBAN DOMINATION OF AFRICAN NATIONS IS THE DETERMINATION

OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE - WHO HAVE STRUGGLED LONG AND HARD

TO BE FREE - TO RESIST FOREIGN CONTROL FROM ANY SOURCE.

13. AND BECAUSE MANY AFRICANS BELIEVE IN OUR GENUINE

COMMITMENT TO THE GOALS THAT THEY ALSO SHARE, THEY EXPECT

MUCH OF US AND ARE SEEKING OUR HELP IN RESOLVING THEIR

PROBLEMS.

14. PRESIDENT CARTER SUMMARIZED THESE GOALS AS AN AFRICA

THAT IS FREE: "FREE OF THE DOMINANCE OF OUTSIDE POWERS,

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FREE OF THE BITTERNESS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE, FREE OF CON-

FLICT, AND FREE OF THE BURDENS OF POVERTY, HUNGER AND

DISEASE."

15. OUR WORK TO HELP MAKE REAL THIS VISION OF A FREE

AND THRIVING AFRICA CAN BE SUMMARIZED IN THREE PRINCIPLES:

-- FIRST, OUR POLICIES WILL CONTINUE TO BE BASED ON

COOPERATION WITH AFRICAN NATIONS, HELPING THEM TO BUILD

THEIR ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRENGTH.

-- SECOND, WE ARE READY TO WORK WITH ALL AFRICAN NATIONS

TOWARD COMMON GOALS. WE NOW HAVE CLOSE RELATIONS WITH

ALMOST EVERY NATION THERE. IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO SEE
THESE TIES STRENGTHENED AND BROADENED. WE SHOULD NOT LIKE
TO SEE AN AFRICAN CONTINENT THAT IS DIVIDED ON IDEOLOGICAL
OR OTHER GROUNDS.
THIRD, WHEN THE AFRICANS ASK US TO DO SO, WE WILL
COOPERATE WITH NON-AFRICAN NATIONS TO FIND PEACEFUL
SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN CONFLICTS AND TO SUPPORT ECONOMIC
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DEVELOPMENT. WE WILL OPPOSE EFFORTS BY ANY OUTSIDE NATION
TO SEEK DOMINANCE.

16. LET ME DESCRIBE BRIEFLY HOW WE ARE PUTTING THESE
PRINCIPLES TO WORK ON THE AFRICAN ISSUES OF GREATEST
CONCERN TO US.

17. FOR A GENERATION, THE ANGUISH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS
BEEN A SPECIAL CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. OUR
OWN SOCIETY HAS STRUGGLED WITH RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND
GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. BUT THE STRUGGLE REMAINS
PROFOUNDLY DIFFICULT, AS INDIVIDUALS OF ALL RACES LOOK INTO
THEIR OWN SOULS AND FIND ANSWERS THAT SHAPE THE SOUL OF
OUR NATION. WE THUS FEEL A PARTICULAR SYMPATHY FOR THOSE
IN SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA WHO ARE GOING THROUGH
A SIMILAR STRUGGLE -- BOTH THE BLACKS WHO ARE THE VICTIMS
OF REPRESSION AND THE WHITES WHO WOULD LIKE TO FIND A
BETTER WAY, BUT THUS FAR LACK THE CONFIDENCE TO DO SO.

18. OUR POLICY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA PROCEEDS FROM THE
UNMISTAKABLE FACT THAT CHANGE IS COMING -- SOON IN
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RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND SOONER OR LATER IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE GREAT QUESTION IS WHETHER IT WILL COME IN RELATIVE

PEACE OR THROUGH VIOLENCE. FOR THE SAKE OF THE PEOPLES

OF THE REGION AND OUR OWN INTERESTS THERE, WE ARE WORKING

FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE. FOR VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

BEARS MANY COSTS -- IN HUMAN TERMS, IN ITS LEGACY OF

POLITICAL POLARIZATION, IN ITS DAMAGE TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS

WITHIN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND OUR OWN ECONOMIC INTERESTS

THERE, IN THE HARM IT CAN DO TO OTHER NATIONS IN THE AREA,

AND IN THE OPPORTUNITIES IT PRESENTS FOR OUTSIDE INTER-
ENTION. IT IS CLEAR THAT THOSE WHO DENY PEACEFUL CHANGE

ARE NOT A BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM; THEY HELP ENSURE THE

VIOLENCE OF WHICH THE COMMUNISTS CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE.

19. WITH RESPECT TO RHODESIA, TOGETHER WITH THE BRITISH

GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF AFRICAN GOVERN-

MENTS IN THE REGION, WE HAVE PROPOSED A PLAN THAT WOULD

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BRING ABOUT A RAPID AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY

RULE. IT PROVIDES FOR FREE ELECTIONS, AN IMPARTIAL ADMIN-

ISTRATION DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD, AND A CONSTITUTION

PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF WHITE AS WELL AS BLACK CITIZENS.

20. CONCESSIONS TOWARDS PEACE HAVE BEEN MADE BY EACH SIDE

IN THIS GATHERING CONFLICT. HOWEVER, NEITHER SIDE CAN

CREATE A NEW NATION, WITH A DECENT CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL

AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE, WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE

OTHER. AND EACH NOW REJECTS THE OTHER'S CLAIM TO PRE-

DOMINANCE DURING THE CRITICAL ELECTION PERIOD.

21. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT WE CAN HELP TO BRING THEM TO-
GETHER, EITHER TO WORK OUT POWER SHARING ARRANGEMENTS
AMONG THEMSELVES, OR TO AGREE ON A NEUTRAL SOLUTION SUCH
AS THE ONE WE HAVE PROPOSED.

22. IN THE COURSE OF THESE LONG AND DIFFICULT NEGOTIA-
TIONS, WE HAVE OFTEN BEEN ASKED TO FAVOR ONE SIDE OR THE
OTHER. WHY, SOME ASK, DO WE NOT SUPPORT IAN SMITH AND THE
BLACK LEADERS WHO HAVE JOINED HIM IN THE SO-CALLED "INTER-
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NAL SETTLEMENT", SINCE THEY ARE TRYING TO HOLD THEIR OWN
ELECTIONS AND SEEM THE MORE MODERATE OF THE TWO SIDES?
WHY, OTHERS SUGGEST, DO WE NOT THROW OUR WEIGHT
BEHIND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THE EXTERNAL NATIONALISTS WHO
HAVE BORNE THE BRUNT OF THE FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE AND
WHO HAVE INDICATED A GREATER WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT KEY
ELEMENTOUR PLAN?

23. THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE AND TERRIBLY IMPORTANT. IF WE
WERE TO CHOOSE ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER, THE CHANCE FOR A
PEACEFUL SOLUTION WOULD BE GREATLY DIMINISHED. WE WOULD
BECOME A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT RATHER THAN A PART OF
EFFORTS TO PREVENT IT. WE WANT TO HELP FIND A WAY FOR ALL
PARTIES TO PARTICIPATE, SO THE PEOPLE CAN FAIRLY DECIDE
HOW THEY GOVERN THEMSELVES.

24. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER OR NOT WE WILL SUCCEED. BUT I
CAN TELL YOU, WITH CERTAINTY, THAT IF WE AND THE GOVERN-

MENTS WITH WHICH WE ARE COOPERATING SHOULD GIVE UP ON OUR
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EFFORTS, THE DOOR TO PEACE WILL SLAM SHUT, WITH APPALLING
HUMAN AND DIPLOMATIC CONSEQUENCES. WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR
NEUTRALITY AMONG ALL THE PARTIES, AND CONTINUE TO STAND
FOR A FAIR SOLUTION IN WHICH POWER IS DETERMINED, NOT BY
SPILLING BLOOD, BUT BY CASTING BALLOTS.

25. /ADD ONE PAGE RE NAMIBIA IN LIGHT OF COMING EVENTS,
-
PERHAPS LOOKING TOWARDS A TOPICAL HEADLINE./

26. REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, WE -- AND OTHERS --
ARE USING WHAT INFLUENCE WE HAVE TO TRY TO PERSUADE ITS
LEADERS THAT A FUTURE OF PEACEFUL PROGRESS BEST SERVES
THEIR INTERESTS, THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF
SOUTH AFRICA, AND THE INTERESTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

27. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERN-
MENT THAT A FAILURE TO BEGIN TO MAKE GENUINE PROGRESS
TOWARDS FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICAN
CITIZENS, AND AN END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, MUST
INEVITABLY MEAN A DETERIORATION IN OUR RELATIONS. THIS
IS A FACT, NOT A THREAT. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD NOT
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HAVE IT OTHERWISE. NEITHER OUR CONSCIENCE NOR OUR
INTERESTS WOULD TOLERATE SUPPORT OF A GOVERNMENT THAT
CHOSE INTRANSIGENCE AND VCE OVER A PEACEFUL EVOLUTION
TO STABILITY THROUGH JUSTICE.

28. LET ME BE QUITE FRANK. THE RESPONSE OF THE SOUTH

AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO OUR POSITION HAS BEEN ONE OF HOSTILITY AND, I BELIEVE, MISPERCEPTION. WE HAVE BEEN PORTRAYED AS AN UNRELENTING ADVERSARY WHICH SEEKS TO HARM THE WHITES.

29. THIS IS SIMPLY NOT THE CASE. WE HAVE NO WISH TO SEE THE WHITES DRIVEN FROM THE HOME OF THEIR FOREBEARS. WE SUGGEST ONLY THAT THEY SEEK A WAY TO LIVE IN PEACE AND JUSTICE WITH THE MAJORITY OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS. WE DO NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE EITHER A TIMETABLE OR A BLUEPRINT FOR THIS PROGRESS; WE HAVE NEITHER THE RIGHT NOR THE POWER TO DO SO. IT SHOULD BE THE SOUTH AFRICANS OF ALL RACES, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND NOT JUST ITS WHITE CITIZENS, WHO DECIDE THEIR FUTURE. BUT I PRAY, AS DO ALL WHO HAVE SYMPATHY FOR THE PROBLEMS ANY SOCIETY ENCOUNTERS IN FACING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, THAT THE BEGINNING OF BASIC PROGRESS CAN BE SEEN SOON. WE WOULD SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA IN SUCH A PROCESS.

30. ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, AS WELL, WE HAVE EVERY INTEREST IN DAMPENING THE FLAMES OF CONFLICT.

31. IN THE HORN OF AFRICA THIS YEAR, DECADES OF BITTER RIVALRY AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS, REGIONS AND NATIONS CULMINATED IN A WAR BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA AND AN ESCALATED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVINCE OF ERITREA. THESE CONFLICTS DIVERT DESPERATELY POOR NATIONS FROM DEALING WITH THE URGENT NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE. WE HAVE VIGOROUSLY SUPPORTED AFRICAN EFFORTS TO

MEDIATE THE BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA,
AND WE URGE BOTH NATIONS TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT.

32. PEACE AND STABILITY WILL NOT COME TO THE REGION AS
LONG AS ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA BELIEVE THEY CAN SOLVE THEIR
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PROBLEMS THROUGH MILITARY MEANS. ETHIOPIA'S DESIRE TO
CRUSH THE ERITREAN REBELLION WILL ONLY CREATE MORE BLOOD-
SHED IN A CONFLICT WHICH MUST BE RESOLVED BY POLITICAL
RECONCILIATION. AND ENCOURAGEMENT BY SOMALIA OF INSUR-
GENT FORCES IN THE OGADEN CAN ONLY INCREASE TENSIONS IN
THE REGION.

33. IT IS CLEAR TO US THAT THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN FORCES
AND SOVIET ADVISORS IN ETHIOPIA INHIBITS PEACE. THEY
PROFESS NO DESIRE TO ENTER THE FIGHTING IN ERITREA, BUT
STILL THEY REMAIN.

34. WHILE THEY CONTRIBUTE TO CONFLICT, A FAMINE IN
ETHIOPIA NOW CONFRONTS OVER A MILLION RURAL PEOPLE WITH
STARVATION. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED
ALMOST A MILLION AND A HALF DOLLARS FOR RELIEF OPERATIONS
IN THE FAMINE AREA.

35. WE HAVE ALSO DECIDED TO PROVIDE EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE
TO HELP CONTROL THE RAPID SPREAD OF LOCUSTS IN THAT
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REGION. WE ARE URGENTLY CONSULTING WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS
TO DETERMINE WHAT AID WILL BE NECESSARY AND MOST EFFECTIVE.

36. IN ZAIRE, AS IN THE HORN, HISTORICAL DISPUTES AND

ETHNIC DIFFERENCES HAVE FUELED A SERIOUS CONFLICT.

37. WHEN ZAIRE'S SHABA PROVINCE WAS INVADED IN MID-MAY

FROM ANGOLA BY KATANGANS, WE RESPONDED TO AN AFRICAN

REQUEST; WE COOPERATED WITH OTHER NATIONS TO RESCUE THOSE

TRAPPED IN THE FIGHTING AND TO HELP PRESERVE ZAIRE'S

TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. WE DEMONSTRATED THAT WE CAN ACT

IMMEDIATELY, FIRMLY AND SENSIBLY IN RESPONSE TO AFRICAN

REQUESTS.

38. THE SHABA RESCUE DOES NOT MEAN THAT ZAIRE'S PROBLEMS

HAVE BEEN SOLVED. THAT NATION IS STILL THREATENED BY

ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND TERRITORIAL FRAGMENTATION. THE

FUTURE OF ZAIRE DEPENDS PRIMARILY ON WHAT IT WITH THE HELP

OF OTHERS IS WILLING TO DO IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO DEAL

WITH THE SERIOUS PROBLEMSACES.

39. WE ARE PREPARED, WITH OTHERS, TO HELP ZAIRE GET BACK

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ON ITS FEET. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT ANY ECONOMIC AND

SECURITY ASSISTANCE WE PROVIDE MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A

SINCERE AND GENUINE EFFORT ON ZAIRE'S PART TO SOLVE ITS

LONG-TERM PROBLEMS. INCREASED ECONOMIC AID TO ZAIRE

WITHOUT INTERNAL ECONOMIC REFORMS WOULD BE FRUITLESS.

WESTERN SECURITY ASSISTANCE WITHOUT ZAIRE'S MAKING STRONG

EFFORTS TO BETTER MANAGE ITS ARMED FORCES WILL NOT

BRING TRUE SECURITY. AND UNTIL MORE PEOPLE IN ZAIRE

EFFECTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THAT COUN-

TRY, TRUE STABILITY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED.

40. IN ADDITION, IF WE ARE TO AVOID MORE SHABA INCIDENTS IN THE FUTURE, ZAIRE AND ANGOLA MUST REACH A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT WHICH PROVIDES FOR MUTUAL RESPECT OF THEIR COMMON BORDER AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

41. THE AFRICAN FORCES IN SHABA, WHOSE PRESENCE WE HAVE FACILITATED, ARE NEITHER PERMANENT NOR A PRECURSOR TO A PAN
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AFRICAN SECURITY FORCE SUPPORTED BY SOME AFRICAN AND WESTERN NATIONS. WE DO NOT FAVOR THE CREATION OF SUCH A FORCE. BUT IF AFRICAN NATIONS ACTING IN CONCERT WERE TO FORM A PEACEKEEPING FORCE UNDER OAU AUSPICES, WE WOULD SUPPORT IT. AFRICANS SHOULD ACT TOGETHER TO DETERMINE THEIR SECURITY NEEDS AND RESOLVE THEIR DISPUTES.

42. OUTSIDE POWERS HAVE A RIGHT TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS BY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS FOR ASSISTANCE. BUT THEY SHOULD DO SO ONLY IN WAYS THAT FURTHER THE PROSPECTS FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES AND ARE PROPORTIONATE TO THE NEED.

43. THIS POINT LIES AT THE HEART OF OUR OBJECTION TO THE MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS COLLABORATORS.

44. OUR AS IN ZAIRE ARE CAREFULLY LIMITED. THEY ARE IN THE CONTEXT OF EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS THERE. IN CONTRAST, SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA APPEAR OPEN-ENDED AND SERVE TO ENCOURAGE THESE AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS TO PER-
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SIST IN SEEKING MILITARY SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS THAT CAN ONLY BE RESOLVED THROUGH POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION. THE SCOPE OF THEIR PRESENCE IMPLIES THAT THEY ARE SEEKING LASTING POLITICAL DOMINANCE.

45. SUCH ACTIONS NOT ONLY HARM THE LIVES OF THE AFRICANS WHO SUFFER IN THESE CONFLICTS. THEY DO DAMAGE TO THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. AND THEY WORK AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF AN AFRICA THAT IS FREE OF THE DIVISIONS AND DESTRUCTION THAT COME WHEN EXTERNAL AMBITIONS ARE INTERJECTED INTO LOCAL DISPUTES.

46. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A GLOBAL COMPETITION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WEST WILL CONTINUE. BUT LET US MODERATE THAT COMPETITION, AND LET US NOT TURN AFRICA INTO AN ARENA OF INCREASING TENSION. LET US EMPHASIZE IN OUR ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA, AS PRESIDENT CARTER PUT IT, "THE WORKS OF PEACE RATHER THAN THE WEAPONS OF WAR."
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47. IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES, WE ARE PURSUING A FIRM AND SENSIBLE STRATEGY TO PROMOTE OUR LONG-TERM INTERESTS IN AFRICA. IT IS BASED ON AN ACTIVE, AFFIRMATIVE APPROACH. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH A GLOBAL STRATEGY THAT COMBINES DIRECT EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN TO THE SOVIETS ABOUT ACTIVITIES TO WHICH WE OBJECT WITH POSITIVE REGIONAL POLICIES THAT RESPOND TO LOCAL REALITIES.

-- FIRST, WE RELY ON OUR LONG-TERM STRENGTHS IN AFRICA.

OUR COMMON COMMITMENTS TO JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT . . .

OUR ECONOMIC TIES AND ASSCE . . . OUR CULTURAL

AFFINITIES . . . THESE ARE THE MOST ENDURING ELEMENTS IN

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN AFRICA AND AMERICA. THEY BIND US

TO NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT.

-- SECOND, WE WILL CONTINUE TO RELY ON AND SUPPORT THE

STRENGTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND OF AFRICAN NATIONS.

-- THIRD, WE WILL WORK WITH OTHERS IN AFRICA AND BEYOND

FOR THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES IN AFRICA,

BECAUSE IT IS RIGHT AND BECAUSE IT IS IN ITSELF A BARRIER

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TO SOVIET AND CUBAN DESIGNS. A POTENTIAL CONFLICT

RESOLVED IS A CONFLICT OF WHICH OTHERS CANNOT TAKE

ADVANTAGE. AND BY WORKING AS HONEST BROKERS FOR PEACEFUL

CHANGE, WE ENCOURAGE AFRICAN NATIONS TO DO THE SAME. IF

THE DOOR TO PEACE WERE CLOSED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA,

NATIONS NOW FRIENDLY WOULD CONCLUDE THAT CHANGE CAN ONLY

COME MILITARILY, AND TURN TO THE SOVIETS FOR INCREASED

SUPPORT. REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE OAU, AND

THE UN ITSELF, CAN PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN THE PEACEFUL

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. WE WILL WORK TO HELP STRENGTHEN

THEIR EFFECTIVENESS. FOR FINALLY, IT IS THE AFRICANS

THEMSELVES WHO CAN BRING PEACE TO THEIR CONTINENT.

-- FOURTH, AS I SAID IN A SPEECH IN ST. LOUIS ALMOST A

YEAR AGO, WE WILL CONSIDER SYMPATHETICALLY REQUESTS FOR

SECURITY ASSISTANCE FROM AFRICAN NATIONS THREATENED BY

A BUILDUP OF FOREIGN MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL ON

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THEIR BORDERS. AMERICAN ARMS TRANSFERS TO AFRICA WILL
CONTINUE TO BE MANAGED WITH RESTRAINT. BUT WE MUST, AND
WILL, CONTINUE TO PROVIDE ARMS TO SUCH NATIONS AS KENYA
AND THE SUDAN, WHICH FACE REAL THREATS TO THEIR SECURITY.
OUR FRIENDS IN AFRICA MUST KNOW THAT THEY CAN RELY ON US
TO HELP THEM STRENGTHEN THEIR ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELV
JUST AS THEY HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR GOAL OF AN AFRICA FREE
FROM THE TENSIONS THAT THREATEN THEM. ON BOTH COUNTS,
WE WILL BE A CONSTANT FRIEND.

-- FIFTH, IN OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND OUR PRIVATE
MEETINGS WITH THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS, WE HAVE LEFT NO
DOUBT ABOUT OUR CONCERNS. WE HAVE POINTED OUT TO THE
SOVIETS THE DANGERS WHICH THEIR ACTIVITIES POSE NOT ONLY
FOR AFRICA BUT FOR OUR OVERALL RELATIONS. WE DO NOT MAKE
A DIRECT LINK BETWEEN THEIR ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA AND THE
CONCLUSION OF A SALT TREATY. THIS WOULD NOT BE IN OUR
INTEREST, SINCE A SOUND SALT AGREEMENT WILL DIRECTLY AND
FUNDAMENTALLY ADD TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. IT MAKES NO
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SENSE, EITHER FOR US OR THE SOVIET UNION, TO PREJUDICE
OUR BASIC INTERESTS FOR THE SAKE OF COMPETITION IN AFRICA.
IT IS THUS ESSENTIAL THAT THE SOVIETS UNDERSTAND HOW THEIR
ACTIONS IN AFRICA COULD POISON THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE

IN THIS COUNTRY.

-- AND FINALLY, WE ARE JOINING WITH OTHER CONCERNED
NATIONS, AFRICAN, EUROPEAN, AND FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE
WORLD, IN URGING RESTRAINT ON THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS.

48. THIS STRATEGY PROVIDES, WE BELIEVE, A REALISTIC
APPROACH THAT EMPHASIZES OUR STRENGTHS AND ENCOURAGES
AN EVOLUTION OF EVENTS THAT IS IN AFRICA'S AND OUR
INTERESTS. IT IS A WINNING STRATEGY THAT HAS GAINED
FRIENDS THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT. THE KEY TO THIS
STRATEGY IS A CENTRAL PROPOSITION: A CONSTRUCTIVE
APPROACH TO AFRICA AND ITS PROBLEMS IS ALSO THE MOST
EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO SOVIET ACTIVITIES THERE.

49. ANY OTHER APPROACH WOULD WEAKEN AFRICA BY DIVIDING
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IT. AND IT WOULD WEAKEN US BY LETTING OTHERS SET THE
PRIORITIES AND TERMS OF OUR POLICIES.

50. THE AFFIRMATIVE APPROACH TO AFRICA THAT I HAVE
DESCRIBED HAS BEEN OUR POLICY SINCE THE EARLY DAYS OF THE
CARTER ADMINISTRATION. IT WILL REMAIN OUR POLICY.

51. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR POLICIES THAT
AFRICANS KNOW AND SEE THAT WE SHARE THEIR GOAL OF
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THIS MEANS INCREASING TRADE AND
INVESTMENT IN WAYS THAT BENEFIT AFRICA AND US. AND IT
MEANS CONTINUING TO INCREASE OUR AID TO AFRICAN NATIONS.
WE WILL DO SO BECAUSE THERE IS GENUINE NEED FOR OUR
ASSISTANCE: BECAUSE A PROSPEROUS AFRICA CONTRIBUTES TO

OUR OWN ECONOMIC WELL-BEING; AND BECAUSE IT WILL
STRENGTHEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN NATIONS AND THEIR
ABILITY TO RESIST OUTSIDE DOMINATION.

52. AS WE INCREASE OUR AID, IT BECOMES ALL THE MORE
IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE A COHERENT STRATEGY FOR ITS
EFFECTIVE USE. OUR AFRICAN AID PROGRAMS WILL EMPHASIZE:
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-- TRAINING AFRICANS TO FULLY TAP THEIR OWN BOUNTIFUL
RESOURCES;
-- SUPPORTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SYSTEMS OF
TRANSPORTATION, IRRIGATION AND COMMUNICATION WHEN THESE
PROJECTS WILL CLEARLY SERVE BASIC HUMAN NEEDS;
-- HELPING TO DIVERSIFY AFRICAN ECONOMIES BEYOND THE ONE
OR TWO BASIC COMMODITIES ON WHICH MANY NOW RELY FOR
FOREIGN EXCHANGE;
-- SUPPORTING INCREASED REGIONAL COOPERATION;
-- DEVELOPING AFRICA'S VAST, UNTAPPED POTENTIAL FOR
ENERGY PRODUCTION - FROM ITS GREAT RIVERS TO ITS
NATURAL POTENTIAL FOR SOLAR ENERGY DEVELOPMENT;
-- AND ATTACKING THE DISEASES THAT PERVADE ENTIRE REGIONS,
SUCH AS SLEEPING SICKNESS AND RIVER BLINDNESS, WHICH HAVE
IMPAIRED AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND CAUSED TERRIBLE
SUFFERING.

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53. OUR DEDICATION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FLOWS FROM
OUR BELIEF IN HUMAN RIGHTS. WE BELIEVE THAT EVERY

INDIVIDUAL HAS THE RIGHT NOT ONLY TO CIVIL AND POLITICAL
LIBERTIES, BUT TO SUCH BASIC NECESSITIES AS DECENT HEALTH
CARE, EDUCATION AND FOOD. WE BELIEVE THAT POLITICAL AND
CIVIL LIBERTIES SHOULD BE RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE
CONTINENT, WHETHER IN SOUTH AFRICA OR UGANDA. THERE
CAN BE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR ABUSE, ANYWHERE. WE
ALSO SHOULD BE PREPARED TO GET OUR AID TO POOR PEOPLE
THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT, WHEN IT IS FEASIBLE TO DO SO.
WE HOPE THAT THE CONGRESS WILL SUPPORT SUCH A POLICY,
AND REMOVE OR REFUSE TO PLACE UNWARRANTED RESTRICTIONS
ON AID TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. SUCH RESTRICTIONS ARE
DAMAGING TO HUMAN BEINGS IN NEED AND CAN UNDERCUT OUR
ABILITY TO PROMOTE OUR INTERESTS.

54. CONCLUSION

55. LET ME CONCLUDE BY ADDRESSING TO EACH OF YOU MY
HOPE THAT YOU WILL MAINTAIN AN INTEREST IN AFRICA EVEN
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AFTER OUR DAILY HEADLINES SHIFT, AS THEY WILL, TO OTHER
AREAS AND OTHER CRISES.

56. THE SUPPORT OF MEN AND WOMEN LIKE YOURSELVES WILL
MAKE ALL THE DIFFERENCE TO OUR POLICIES. WITH YOUR
UNDERSTANDING, WE CAN CONTINUE TO SEE AFRICA AS AFRICA,
AND THUS BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN PROMOTING BOTH OUR
INTERESTS AND AFRICA'S HOPES. FOR THE TWO ARE TIED
TOGETHER. CHRISTOPHER
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, TOSEC, TEXT, SPEECHES, CAT-B, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE153323
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/P:ALAKE
Enclosure: (78 TOSEC 70076)
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: P850071-2643, P820012-0178
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197806115/baaaeyyj.tel
Line Count: 973
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 05304f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 18
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2177435
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S DRAFT SPEECH FOR ATLANTIC CITY
TAGS: SOPN, AINF, PEPR, US, XA, (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/05304f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014